communities in ACTION

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by Vice President Humphrey

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TEXAS' MIGRANTS PROGRAM

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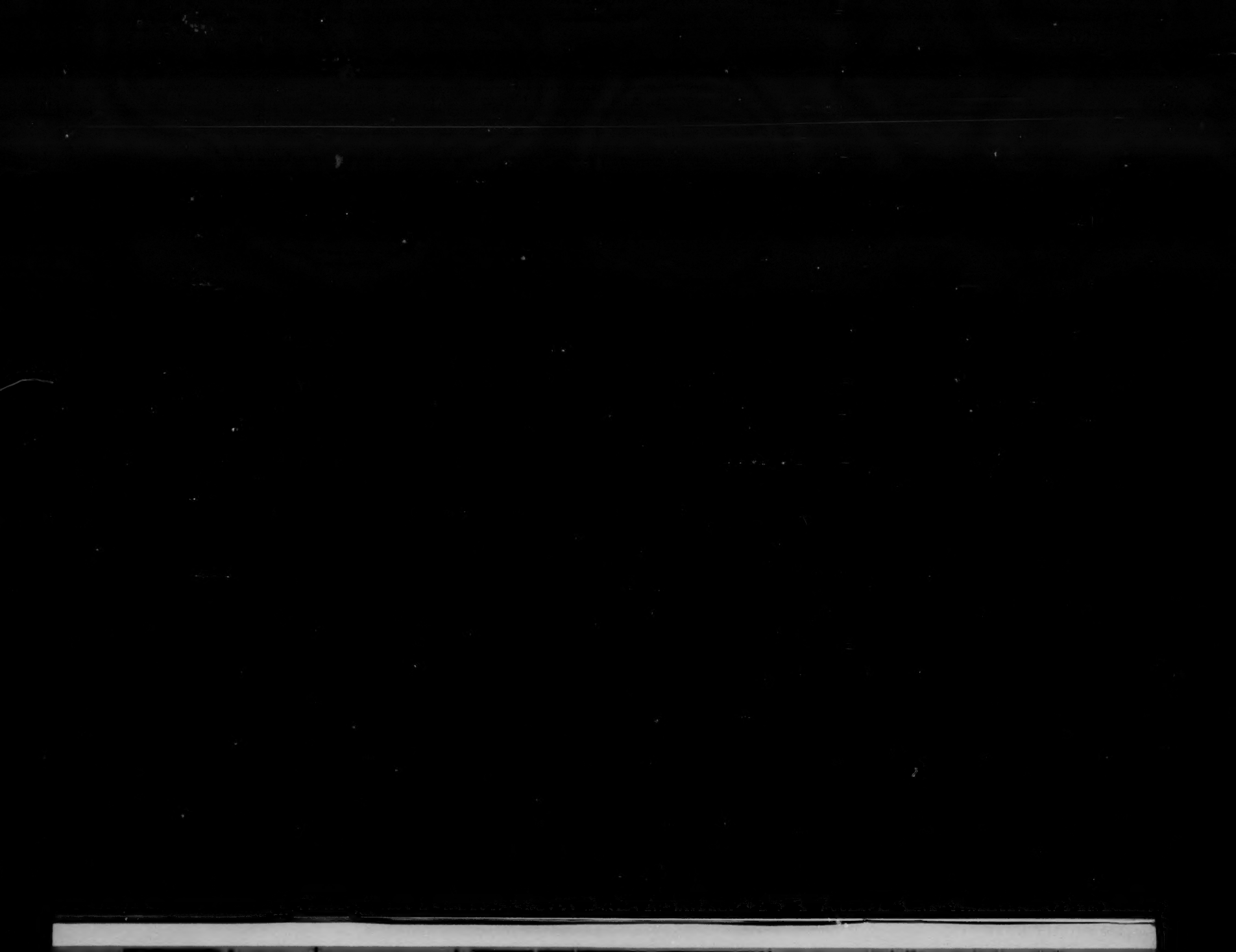


COMMUNICATIONS IDEA: *Let the kids do it!*

When jobs in photography, radio, TV or films call for experienced practitioners, the youth in Paterson are prepared. Thanks to CRIC, the Communications Resource and Information Center, this city's youth receive training and experience by professionals: a film and sound technician, radio broadcasting expert, three commercial artists, two photographers, and a professional photographer who serves as overall coordinator. The Paterson Anti-Poverty Task Force and the Neighborhood Youth Corps are partners in the project.

CRIC is on-call to send a crew to record any community event. Trainees video-tape monthly board meetings of the Task Force; crews record the signing ceremonies of contracts and agreements. And NYC youth were even members of the team invited to film and tape the swearing-in fanfare for New York City's Mayor John V. Lindsay!

The CRIC crew produced a sound film, "The Long, Cool Summer," recording the progress of Task Force summer programs designed to help Paterson youth "keep their cool." When the Task Force bused 100 youngsters to New York for a Count Basie concert, NYC enrollees followed—cameras rolling. They were there, too, at picnics, plays and concerts, which helped release the pressure of summer city steam. The result, after careful splicing, the addition of music and narration, was the film. Paterson youth are receiving training and experience—and are having fun at it!

"No place to go."

Until six months ago this phrase was etched through the leisure hours of ghetto youth in Paterson, New Jersey. As one boy put it, "They bug us about hangin' around on the street. They bug us about makin' the gin mills. They bug us about makin' too much racket. Man, what do they expect? We don't have no place to go."

Today they have a place to go. Neighborhood Youth Corps in Paterson made it happen. The NYC staff presented the problem to an interested neighborhood synagogue, which offered an "as is" barn-like recreation room, complete with stage. The Youth Corps was free to make of it what they could, and would. Thus began "Coffee House, Paterson, USA."

Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees converged, en masse, in overalls, painters' caps and aprons. Sawdust flew, paint splattered and the racket of hammers and saws split the air in a frenzy of creation.

When the dust settled and the debris was cleared, a "barn" had become a "happening." Walls were washed with off-white paint, providing a backdrop for Picasso-like primitive flowers, executed in bold primary colors. A long serving bar was built into one end of the space. Tables were grouped about the room, sprinkled with bright tablecloths. The floor, scraped and waxed, gleamed like an ice rink. The whole place was squeaky clean and ready for business.

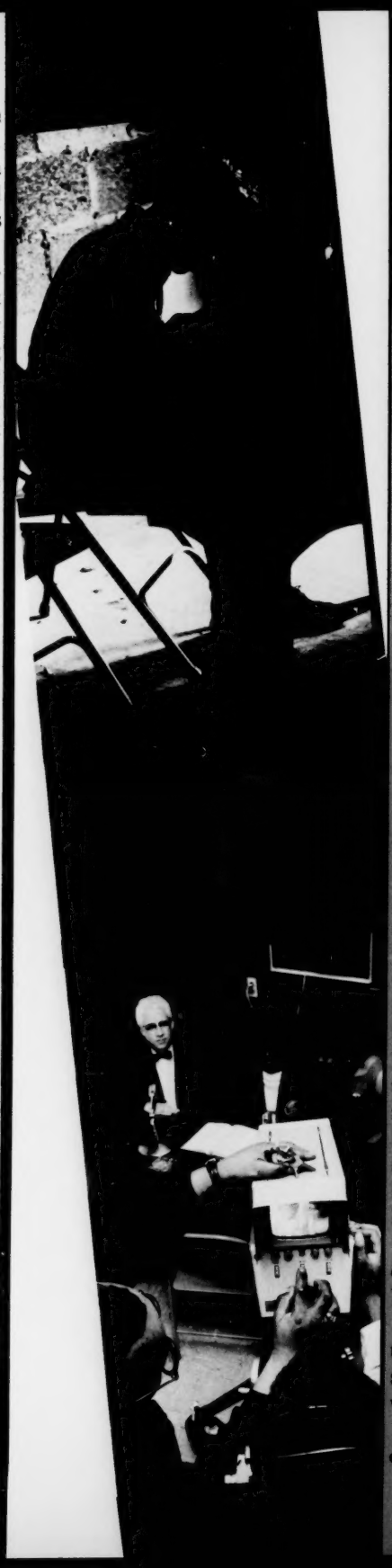
NYC enrollees now operate and manage the Coffee House—with adult supervision. They are responsible for its upkeep, they take inventory and order supplies, wait tables, clean, wash dishes, make out sales slips, do bookkeeping and per-

form any other duties involved in the operation of a small restaurant. Thus, Coffee House serves as a work site for NYC enrollees as well as providing recreational facilities for Paterson youth.

The valuable work experience also offers enrollees a fringe benefit that many fortunate youth take for granted. Enrollees, by operating this facility, acquire a "nut and bolts" knowledge of how a business is run—what makes it go—what the hang-ups are—what the rewards are. For most of them it's the first time they have been on the receiving end of a profitmaking service—a service that truly serves *them,* that does not exploit them, that does not create a "don't hang around here" atmosphere. This dynamic experience influences their attitudes about work and about a free enterprise economy.

Entertainment for the Coffee House is planned by the youth through their Coffee House Council. News about a swinging new talent in town is picked up through the grapevine, and is passed on to the Council, which in turn contacts the group. At the audition, if they turn out a "sweet sound," they're booked for an evening's engagement at the Coffee House. Two or three nights a week live entertainment rocks at the Coffee House—entertainment scouted, contacted and booked by the youth themselves.

Still under construction is a recording studio which enrollees are helping to build. Located behind the stage at the Coffee House, it will be soundproof and stocked with the latest in recording equipment. If a particular talent group becomes a real hit and shows promise, it will be invited to cut a record in the studio. The Coffee House Council and adult supervisors will make final selection of groups they



believe are ready to record. Recording will carry the Coffee House Label and will be distributed to disc jockeys and record stores in the Paterson area. Any profits from record sales, as well as concession sales, will be plowed back into the Coffee House.

One of the latest improvements, made possible by profits from concession sales, is a sophisticated lighting system, which enrollees helped install. One moment a singer can be bathed in a soft blue spot, the next moment a bright yellow wash can flood the entire room.

When asked by a local skeptic why such an advanced lighting system had been installed in a "little cafe catering to poor kids," an enrollee answered—

"Poor kids like good stuff just as much as rich kids."

Not only does Coffee House, Paterson, USA, serve youth but it serves the community as well. People don't "bug" the youth now about being on the streets, in the bars. They're no longer there. They're at the Coffee House. In fact the popularity of the place has so spread that membership cards were issued to Patersonites to prevent mass invasion by youth from surrounding cities. The facilities can accommodate only 150 people so Paterson youth must now show their membership cards before admittance. (If someone breaks a house rule—established by the adult supervisor and the Coffee House Council—his card may be temporarily suspended.)

The Coffee House is unique because the Paterson Neighborhood Youth Corps is unique.

Eric Sewell, project director for the out-of-school program in Paterson, explains their approach this way:

"We have tried to provide for our young people opportunities im-

plied by NYC philosophy as well as those actually spelled out by law.

"To accomplish NYC's objectives and to reach the really hard-core disadvantaged in Paterson, we knew we had convince them this is where the action is. Most of our kids are too street-smart to get conned into a deadend project. We had to develop programs that *they* were very much involved in and very much believed in. Otherwise they figure they can make it better and faster on the street.

"We had to offer them something they couldn't get on the street. We had to offer training for a job that can "lead somewhere", and we had to assure them that we wouldn't plan programs *for* them, but *with* them. We want to help our kids kick the idea they're assembly-line rejects."

One satellite program that has generated great enthusiasm is the BEST Center (Business Education and Skill Training) for out-of-school enrollees—a response to NYC's commitment to increase the employability of these youth. Employability according to Paterson Corps staff, means having skills as well as experience and proper attitudes.

Mr. Sewell stirred the Olivetti-Underwood potpourri, uncovering a real corporate interest in helping develop such a project. The U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Manpower, Policy Evaluation and Research agreed to subsidize part of the operation.

Olivetti-Underwood equipped the center with typewriters, bookkeeping machines, auditing machines, keypunch machines, calculators and necessary curriculm materials. The corporation trained two curriculum specialists at the Olivetti Training Institute in Hartford, Conn., who developed and will administer the curriculum program at BEST.

Training sessions take place from 4 to 10 p.m. consisting of 2-hour sections, each section accommodating five to 15 trainees. Youth enroll in the program voluntarily and may sign up for as many as two classes per evening. They assume this responsibility in addition to their job assignments during the day. The program will train enrollees in basic typing, advanced typing, bookkeeping, calculating, office machine operation and office management skills. The first 5-month session is fully subscribed (there will be three 5-month sessions, with a month allowed after each for evaluation) with a waiting list to fill any early drop-out vacancies.

Paterson staff believe this response irrefutably disproves the old saw, "Those kids just don't care about learning anything."

A placement service developed by Paterson NYC, Olivetti-Underwood and the New Jersey State Employment Service Youth Opportunity Center guarantees each graduate a permanent job in the community.

Faithful to their promise to involve youth in program development, Paterson staff created the Leadership Council. Made up of enrollees, it serves as their official spokesman, acting as liaison between them and the administration.

Council members and enrollees alike know that because of this platform, they may speak and be heard. On several occasions the Council, in response to enrollee requests, has influenced the staff in implementing a new activity or in upgrading program components.

Mr. Sewell was right. Paterson youth are getting the message—"Neighborhood Youth Corps is WHERE THE ACTION IS!"

——JACK HOWARD, Administrator
Bureau of Work Programs
Department of Labor

escalating

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey returned to West Virginia, one of his favorite chunks of America, the second week in February to deliver a major address on the form and future of the War on Poverty. Speaking before the West Virginia AFL-CIO Legislative Conference in Charleston, the Vice President removed all doubts that the anti-poverty effort is a dying swan. Instead he declared an acceleration of effort. His remarks, as excerpted below, are of interest to all CAA staffs as to the shape of things to come.

the war on poverty

By VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

"The new war on poverty has been in progress for only two years. Yet there are already summer soldiers who are prepared to haul down the banners, fold the tents and abandon the field of battle.

"Let us take stock. Just how far have we come?

"First, let us put the war on poverty in perspective. It is being waged on a much wider front than the programs—such as the Job Corps and Head Start—initiated by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

"The sums allotted to the total attack upon poverty in the President's new budget add up to over 25 billion dollars—an increase of 3 billion dollars over last year. Of the 25 billion dollar total, the Office of Economic Opportunity accounts for only 2 billion dollars.

"The war on poverty includes the great social programs launched by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, such as Social Security, the National Labor Relations Act, and the minimum wage.

"It includes, too, the full-employment economic policy of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations —a policy which has created an environment in which business, labor, and agriculture could work together to achieve a sustained economic growth—now in its seventy-first month—unprecedented in our history.

"The war on poverty includes Medicare, the Appalachian Regional Development program, the Economic Development Administration, and the new federal programs for elementary and secondary schools, which are specifically directed to helping under-privileged children get a better education and a better start in life.

"What have these programs and policies achieved?

"Five million more Americans are at work today than were at work a year ago.

"Wages are the highest in our history and unemployment is at its lowest point in 13 years.

"Our Gross National Product has reached three-quarters of a trillion dollars.

"More than one million persons are receiving job training under federal programs, compared to none *only six years ago.*

"Of the six million young Americans in college today, one million are there because of federal assistance.

"More than 3.5 million elderly Americans have already received assistance under Medicare.

"The war on poverty has created 1100 Community Action agencies, serving half the nation's poor and touching all the 50 most poverty-afflicted metropolitan areas.

"It has enlisted more than 56,000 citizens for community action boards, more than one-third of them from the poor.

"It has helped prepare 1.2 million pre-schoolers for the first grade through the Head Start program.

"It has given work and training to 500,000 young people through the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

"It has helped 25,000 high school youngsters through the slum-to-college Upward Bound program.

"It has graduated 13,000 young people from residential Job Corps centers with 29,000 more now in training in 113 centers.

"It has utilized 5,000 senior citizens as "foster grandparents" to 10,000 children in public and private institutions.

"There are seven million fewer people living in poverty than there were six years ago.

"Then, the poor amounted to almost 21 per cent of their people—today they are less than 16 per cent.

"But the very progress that we have been making has brought us closer to the hard core of poverty. And it has forced us to face the fact that there are no panaceas . . . no quick and easy solutions.

"Poverty is mankind's oldest and cruelest burden, antedating recorded history. And it will not vanish overnight, even in America. Millions of Americans have *begun the journey toward becoming self-sustaining, tax-paying citizens. But for many the road will be long and difficult.*

"The important thing is that they are *eager to work their way out of poverty.*

"We have found that people do not *prefer idleness on relief to honest work. Every opportunity program that has been offered has more people lining up at the door than there are places inside.*

"Therefore, it would be worse than cruel—it would be tragic—to slam the door in their faces. For, as the Bible says:

'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.'

"We have learned, too, that many of the hard-core unemployed require a great deal of direct individual training—in matters so elementary as literacy and personal grooming—to become employable. Many must learn how to get a bus, what kind of clothes to wear, how to apply for a job, how to punch a time clock.

"It is not enough merely to open the doors of opportunity—we must help people, through training, to step through them with confidence. But we have also learned that there is a great potential for leadership among the poor. We have learned that, while we need public officials and professional social workers in Community Action programs, we also need the contribution that only the poor themselves can make.

"They do not want things done to *and* for *them. They want to help themselves. And that is as it should be.*

"Today there are thousands of poor people—never before consulted, never heeded, never given a voice—serving on local anti-poverty boards throughout the country. Just as the labor movement developed its own leaders—its William Green's and its Philip Murray's—so also are the poor.

"Perhaps the most exciting discovery we have made is the eagerness of Americans who are not *poor to volunteer for service in the war on poverty. Something like 100,000 volunteers have already taken part in the Head Start program alone. And, in addition to the 3,000 full-time VISTA volunteers, we are planning to recruit 50,000 additional VISTA "associates"—people who will give part-time service in their own communities.*

"This is pioneering work, this war on poverty. There are no blazed trails. We are learning by experience as we go along.

"We have learned, for example, that the effects of the Head Start program—impressive as they seem at first—tend to fade away in the first few months of regular school. So, in order to maintain the momentum gained in Head Start, we are initiating a Head Start Follow Through Program in the primary grades.

"And I predict that the Head Start youngsters of today will *grow up to be self-supporting heads of families of their own.*

"We have had to learn by experience how to run effective Job Corps camps. Of course, there have been drop-outs. But the Job Corps drop-out rate has been less than that in our colleges.

"The average Job Corps graduate today enters industry at a starting rate of $1.71 an hour—whereas those who had worked at all before entering the Corps averaged 70 cents an hour.

"We've become keenly aware of the multiple and inter-acting causes of poverty. We've learned that even education, vital as it is, is not enough in itself. There must be improvement in the child's home and community background . . . there must be adequate nutrition and health care.

"We have been aroused to our really disgraceful failure to make health services available to the poor. To cite one example: There is not a single hospital in the Watts area of Los Angeles. With the aid of poverty funds, a neighborhood health center is under construction there—and more are underway in the slum areas of other cities.

"We recognize the need to do more for the rural areas, where more than two-fifths of the nation's poor live—and the President has proposed to channel more help to these areas.

"For millions in poverty, of course, there is only one practical remedy—more money. These are the aged, the disabled, the families with young children and no breadwinner—people who literally are unable to support themselves.

NEW BENEFITS

"To meet this need, the President is urging a very substantial across-the-board boost of Social Security benefits and the extension of Medicare to the 1.3 million permanently and totally disabled Americans under 65.

"He is also urging a good, hard look at our public assistance system, which in many respects seems stuck in a deep and dreary rut. In some states, benefits are disgracefully low. In some states, the denial of relief to a family with a man in the house actually operates to break families up and increase dependency. Also, the practice of deducting a dollar from relief for each dollar earned is a disincentive rather than an incentive to work.

"Looking further ahead, the President is appointing a commission of leading citizens to look into all *possible means for assuring every American a way out of poverty.*

". . . all elements of our national community—state and local government, business, labor, and our great voluntary organizations—have an important part to play.

"First of all, state and local governments need to put themselves in better shape in terms of both organization and personnel, to cope with the problems that face their people —and notably the problem of poverty.

"The federal government does not—and should not—seek to supplant local initiative. What is needed is an effective working partnership between all levels of government.

"Let me repeat: This poverty war is not something for government alone. We need everyone. Labor has been in the war from the start.

"I am pleased that private enterprise has met its opportunity to operate Job Corps camps—and to make money doing it.

"I am pleased that we have been able to revise our public housing procedures so as to enable the private home-building industry to enter this field more fully—and to make money for itself, while saving taxpayers' money on overall costs.

"I am pleased that we are giving private enterprise more scope—and profitable scope—to design better schools and more economical hospitals.

"For we cannot realistically expect private enterprise to involve itself in public need without profit incentive.

"Profit and *morality are a hard combination to beat.*

"I would like to see our universities enlist more fully in the war on poverty. They should be centers of action as well as study—not pacifist observers of the struggle, but militant participants in it.

"The war on poverty is, in essence, a call to action to all *Americans to join in building a better America . . . an America with better education for all . . . an America free of slums . . . an America that cares for its elderly and offers opportunity to its young.*

"Every American has a stake in winning this war.

"For the poverty of those who have least casts a dark shadow on the well-being of those who have enough.

"When you volunteer in this war, you volunteer to mobilize our resources to improve our social security . . . to expand our health care . . . to train our jobless . . . to educate our children . . . to rehabilitate not only slums but the people who live in them. You volunteer to build the strong and free and happy America that we have always sought —the America we will one day have.

TIME OF TESTING

"President Johnson has said this is a 'time of testing.'

"It is a time of testing in the war on poverty.

"It is a time of testing in Washington, but not only in Washington.

"It is a time of testing here in West Virginia, as you seek to consolidate and step up your own progress out of poverty.

"It is a time of testing in statehouses, in city halls, in farmers' organizations, in corporate boardrooms and in union headquarters throughout this nation.

"It is a time of testing in the Congress of the United States.

"There are members of the 90th Congress who have called for a halt in the war on poverty . . . who call for cuts . . . who oppose the programs of the President and of his Congressional leadership.

"I ask them:

"Which *child would you deny education?*

"Which *grandmother or grandfather would you deny medical care?*

Which *community would you leave on poverty's ragged edge?*

Which *city streets would you leave as breeding places for violence and crime?*

"Which *citizens would you leave behind the rest of us as stragglers and as second-class people?*

"I say that to be hard-headed, you do not have to be hard-hearted.

"I say that to save money, we cannot afford to waste people.

"We are going to stand and fight for those people. I know that the members of the West Virginia Congressional delegation are with us. And I know that you are with us.

"Where there have been mistakes, we will correct them. Where something doesn't work, we will find something that does.

"But we have come too far to turn away from those who need our help to help themselves. And together we shall go forward to win the war on poverty—the only war we seek, here or anywhere in the world."

catalyst for community change

Community action—two harmless sounding words first coupled in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to initiate a new force for change in our communities.

Community development—what the nation is willing to do overseas through the Peace Corps and AID (Agency for International Development) but which it took the Community Action Program to bring "home."

Human resources—(1) Narrow economic definition—the value of human beings as economic capital for developing the gross national product;

(2) Modern social definition—the value of man to himself and to society as a human being who cooperates with others to improve his potential and contribution to society.

Catalyst — (literally) — an agent that changes other agents without changing itself.

Synergism—(another $5 word) —cooperative action of independent boides to yield a total larger than the sum of the parts.

■ Is there a future for Community Action or, as the National Association for Community Development (NACD) sometimes calls it, Community Development?

Certainly, for the nation's communities, large and small, urban and rural, are going to change constantly.

The real question is, are we, through lack of spirit or "know-how," going to run out on positive community action? and allow community development to become community deterioration—physically and socially?

There is another related question. Isn't everyone—the Federal government, the people, everyone —tired of community action?

Perhaps those wavering souls who are, should reconsider their "head in the sand" attitude, for they are taking a giant step backward from the needs of our ever changing communities and our citizens.

The National Association for Community Development is a young, professional organization dedicated to developing communities through programs that allow citizens to develop themselves.

Obviously, NACD members—professionals in this new field of human and community development—welcomed the Economic Opportunity Act, for this was one of our society's clearest acknowledgements that the nation must commit itself to developing all of its human and community resources.

The Act, rightly, was pinpointed on working with disadvantaged citizens—a sound approach to community development as any community, like a chain, is only as strong as its weakest part.

NACD could have been called the National Association for Economic Opportunity, thus highlighting it as a group that places sole emphasis on the Office of Economic Opportunity, as the answer to all of the deficiencies and problems of our citizens.

In fact, that is not its title; and that it is the National Association for Community Development is a clear indication that we believe that the development of citizens and their societies is a task encompassing not only the War on Poverty but all of the nation's programs and institutions for social development.

Of course, "social development" requires and confirms the beauty of community action. *You can't have community development without community action.*

And the role of the Community Action Agency as the new, unfettered force for community action is a major key to community development. This unique "mobilization of resources," public and private, brought new life not only to our disadvantaged citizens but also to their communities.

Not even the harshest critics would say the War on Poverty should have been won after two years. The goal was, rather, to develop during these two years Community Action Agencies with the capacity to sustain permanent community action and development.

It is hard to imagine that the nation now would consider throwing away the expertise and commitment it has concentrated in the Community Action Agencies. It would

HOW NACD EVOLVED

Thirteen directors of fledgling community action programs from across the country gathered in Washington in October 1964 to discuss emerging problems in putting Economic Opportunity Act policies into effect at the local level and in implementing other Federal programs affecting local communities.

The anti-poverty act was then two months old. The project directors had gained their limited experience principally from broad-scale community-development programs funded by the Ford Foundation and the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

Having agreed on several broad principles, the directors appointed a committee whose mission was to try to develop a national organization for sharing ideas and information in the new-born community-development and community action field.

They were concerned with promoting and developing staff competency, influencing the course of public policy in this area at all levels of government through state and local CAP viewpoints and improving relationships among national, state and local agencies.

The committee's work bore fruit within six months. In March 1965, the National Association for Community Development was organized. NACD dedicated itself to the goals originally established by the committee. Projects in 29 states were represented at NACD's convention.

NACD was instrumental in the initiation of a series of conferences with the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. The united stand taken by these organizations had a substantial impact on the final shape of anti-poverty legislation.

Following the conferences, the Conference of Mayors—many of whose members had originally been outspoken in their criticisms of resident participation, autonomy of local CAP's and other aspects of the OEO program—took a strong position in support of the community action programs and appropriations which were originally urged by NACD alone.

January 30 through February 1, NACD sponsored, with OEO and the Department of Agriculture, a national conference on both problems of rural poverty and opportunities in the rural areas.

NACD is currently processing requests—by phone and mail—for information from CAAs across the nation. There is a Job Opportunities service in the NACD newspaper.

NACD has won Ford Foundation support in the form of a 2-year grant totaling $250,000 enabling it to broaden its influence on the course of community-development policy and programing. The $250,000 is in addition to an earlier grant of $25,000 by the Foundation to finance a Manpower Conference last December.

As to future activities, NACD is planning—

- **its annual Association conference in April, 1967,**
- **national, state and regional training sessions,**
- **to increase its attention to specific problems, such as coordination of Federal programs, (State governments will be urged to play a more active role in mobilizing state resources in support of community action programs.)**
- **to broaden its legislative and administrative reference services,**
- **to develop complete job-placement and personnel services,**
- **and to encourage formation of state and area NACD chapters and other special groups within the body of the national organization. (An informal group of representatives of state technical assistance agencies has already been organized.)**

seem that every enlightened governmental jurisdiction would demand that CAAs be preserved as vehicles for solving community problems.

The CAA has been the first effective means since "Tammany Hall" of getting all community residents to participate in the activities of their community. This "belonging"—which is being further developed in newer legislation such as the Demonstration City Program—is an irreversible trend in American democracy and demands a permanent place for the CAAs.

So, after saving the CAA as mechanism for social planning and citizen participation, what do we get from CAAs as coordinators and "mobilizer of resources"?

"Catalyst" applied to CAAs has been very "in" lately but maybe the word betrays CAAs by its very definition. The essence of community action is positive change; if CAAs get "hardening of the arteries" at the age of two and feel their role is to change other institutions without changing themselves then we must be on the wrong track —the whole routine would deserve an early funeral.

Perhaps what we have needed all along as community action was synergism (the compounding of com-

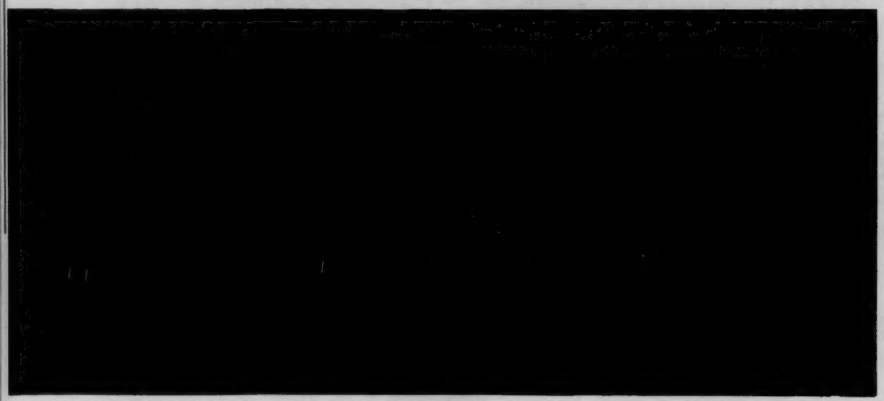
munity efforts) under the leadership of CAA's.

But, can there be synergism or community action if the Community Action Agency has no "clout" —i.e., major sums of money from an independent agency like OEO— to fund independent programs operated by itself?

This requires discussion.

First of all, if we need new independent programs because no similar programs are available, then by all means we should have them. If, however, we need new programs because similar existing programs are inadequate in quantity and quality, then a very sophisticated balance must be struck between competition and synergism.

Also, there is the implication that money from Federal Departments and other public and private sources for community programs is either non-existent, pre-opted by other programs or tainted. NACD rejects this kind of negative thinking.



There are *innumerable* grant-in-aid and similar community development monies available, as witnessed in the 414 page "Catalog of Federal Programs for Federal and Community Improvement" published by OEO.

Many of them, however, do not reach all communities because the communities themselves do not have the expertise to find and get them—at least some of them didn't before they got a CAA.

It must never be ignored that all programs are subject to the same erosion of quality that affects institutions. Some become bundles of "red tape," others as functions of weak agencies, some lapse into "middle-class" approaches. Fortunately, all programs are also subject to inspection, to criticism, to intervention and to change.

A dynamic CAA must continue to have a strong board of directors, resourceful "never-say-die" staff and effective grass-roots citizen participation in order to move mountains.

Another problem is the thesis that CAA's must be 100 percent independent of all other existing institutions, including the regular local governments.

Two years of history prove this separation is not necessary. There are strong CAA's that are part of dynamic local governments. They not only use the strengths of their governments but add their unique synergestic qualities and provide for effective citizen participation— creating triple strength.

In a few unique stituations, it may be a good short-run tactic for an independent CAA to make no attempt to involve its local government and even resist having a local government representation on its board.

But, in the long run communities must meet their own problems and lead their own community development. Therefore, it benefits all CAAs to develop short- and long-term strategies for creating positive roles for local governments in community action and community development. The sooner CAAs do this the safer their future will be.

Finally, our suggestion for synergism under CAA leadership is faulty in its demand that all programs be operated by the CAP. Some *should* be but, if in the community there are existing institutions with a stake in the community's development, the sooner the CAA begins a planned program invloving such "regular" agencies, the quicker those agencies will become committed to community development. If they aren't so involved they are potential enemies.

NACD, therefore, holds that good community action rises or falls on the programs rather than on the agencies; and if there is true community action in a sound Community Action Program, there will be community development.

That may seem a "pat" answer at this early stage of the neophyte art of community development. It is, frankly, difficult to get an agreement even on a definition of domestic community development.

And, once you do agree what it is, there are other questions, e.g., where is the expertise? who are the professionals? Good questions. NACD should help find some answers.

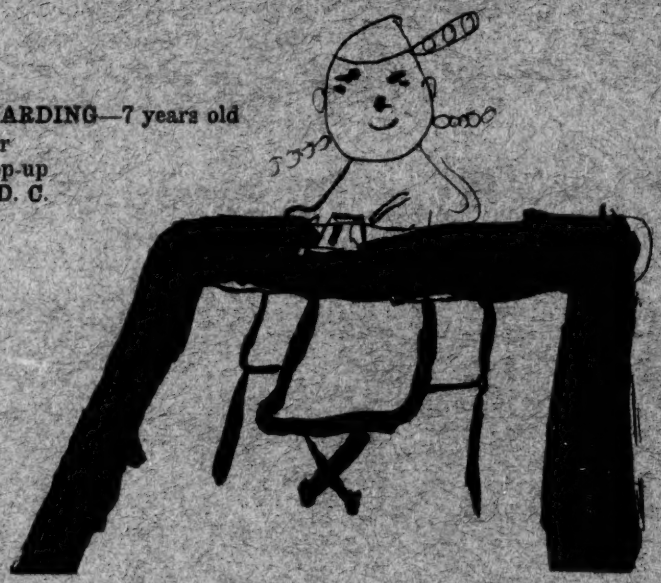
It is NACD's role to be a focal point for concentrating the attention of our nation on devoting adequate time and resources to the development of our communities as the war of our people.

—RICHARD D. WENNER
Executive Director, NACD

inner city sounds and sights

PICTURES FROM THREE POVERTY AREAS

SMITHSONIAN' LAWRENCE TAYLOR—8 years old
Operation Step-up Washington, D. C.



DEBORAH HARDING—7 years old
Ingram Center
Operation Step-up
Washington, D. C.

Talent cannot be contained—it will break out no matter how restrictive the environment.

One of the most encouraging peripheral aspects of the Community Action Program, particularly in the large cities, is the impetus given young people to express themselves.

Many neighborhood centers have developed programs that prod poor kids toward self-expression. Some are formally organized, others are informal, all have the same motive, to light a fire of self-realization in the youngster who has been challenged neither in school or home.

Some very imaginative literature is rising out of these communities. In Watts, a young group of writers, shepherded by novelist Budd Schulberg is producing vital fiction, poetry and drama. Two years ago some of these kids were amid riot.

HARYOU in New York has its share of the young poor with feelings they are translating powerfully in prose, art, music or the dance.

In Baltimore, young people, as young as fourth-grade pupils, are putting ideas and emotions down on paper. The gathering point for this creativity are neighborhood centers under the Baltimore Community Action Agency and funded through OEO.

The first Baltimore effort is an inexpensive mimeographed magazine entitled *Chicory*. It is edited by Sam Cornish, a young poet with a growing reputation. He is helped by an editorial board comprised of VISTA workers: Tom Edsall, Jerry Morton, Christine Henkel and Claire Bergan. *Chicory* is published monthly by the community action program and will be distributed in all community centers and library branches throughout the city.

Chicory's aims are best expressed by editor Cornish who says:

"What is Chicory?

"Chicory is the way you say something; Chicory is the way you think, the words you say, which have some meaning for someone other than the original listener. Chicory is written by people who do not write, and recorded by the editors. It is a magazine of poetry, fiction and comment. It will not publish just anything, but it is concerned with the music of words as well as with meaning.

"Because the contributors of *Chicory* are given to a kind of hip or non-verbal means of communication, words are often guarded and hidden until *you* have left the room. *Chicory* records the written word in the manner submitted.

"*Chicory* will show you how *we* feel. It will not be literature, but clear and direct *inner city* ways of expressing something about *our* life. It is writing about experience, about being poor, about being alive. It is a statement unguarded by the proper or necessary word.

"The first issue of *Chicory* was published in November, 1966. It contained work by people living within the Baltimore City target area. Contributions came from four drop-outs, ages 16 to 30, two elementary school children, ages eight and nine, and various other children, ages eight to 16.

"The purpose of this magazine is to publish work overheard by the editors which reflect the music of language in the inner city; to encourage more spoken and written comment by people in the community action area; and to inform those other people and agencies within the area of *our* ways of living."

On these pages are poetry and visual art from inner city slum areas of Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, and the outer city slum area of Watts in Los Angeles.

BABBITT

A wish is but spurious thought, nothing more.
Often I reminisce the days of youth
Days of carved hearts on the trunk of a tree,
Nonsensical and perhaps, rashly I used my mouth
With gigantic presumptions of being free:

Who is it fervently crying know thyself?
Socrates: words, thoughts with intent to mock.
Who goes there fervently crying know thyself?
Socrates; stoically he looks, drinking the hemlock

I grow old, old and with very much apathy;
Round the circular path with society's conduct,
To be processed and treated in the great factory—
To live standardly—to be merely a product.

ALVIN SAXON, JR.—19 years old
Fredrick Douglas
Writers Workshop
Watts, Los Angeles

EDUCATION

i don't care how modernized the world gets there's not enough educational equipment for the educated you got to have some dumb ones there wouldn't be no world otherwise

if you had 40 hundred million people who could type how could you ever make 40 hundred million typewriters we need labor

if somethin' go wrong with a typewriter who gonna take the cover off that joker

we got to come off that education bit if a rich man wants to make money he got to have dumb ones

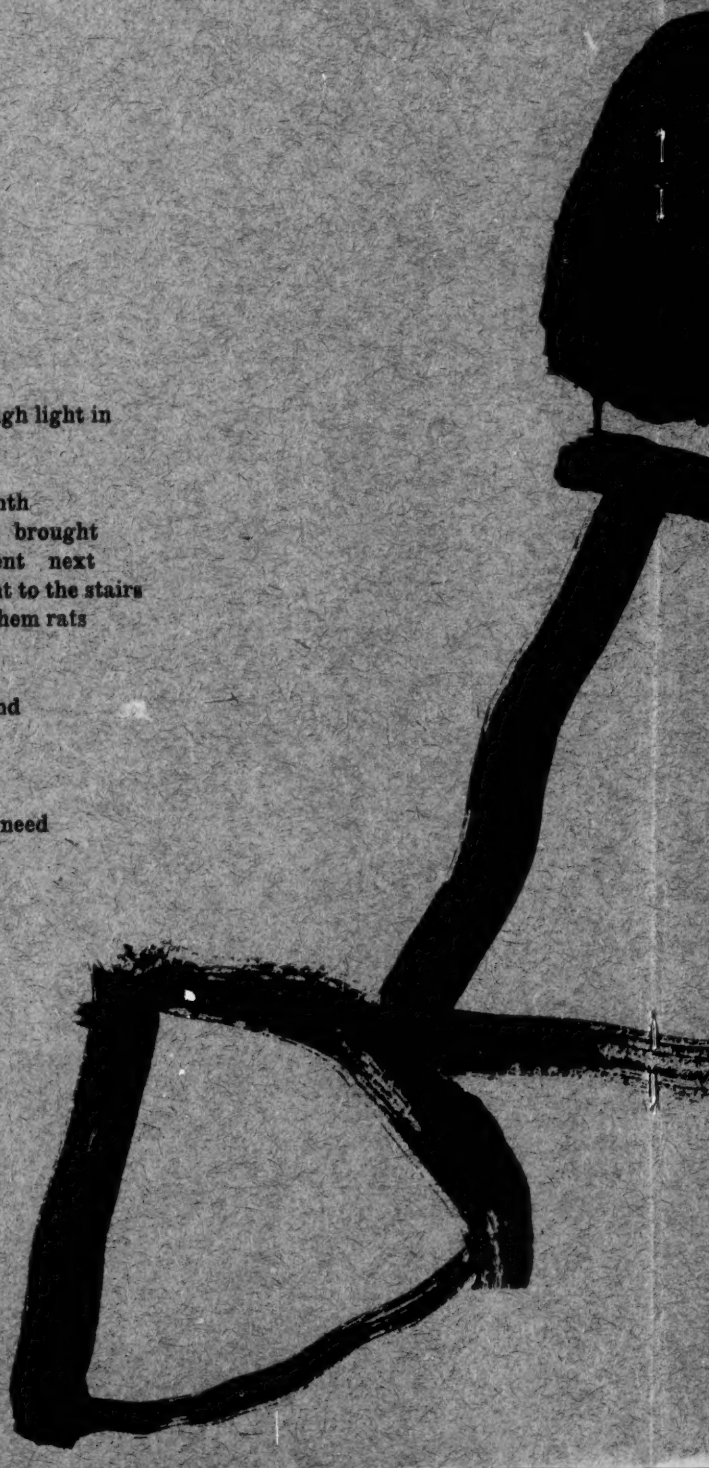
you can find a sucker in every crowd i'm jus talkin' like a man should

TURK
"Chicory"

HOUSING

don't need any windows here cracks in the wall let enough light in
move in one night move out the next
i ain't going to be here but i ain't leaving
see me on the street address unknown see me next month
woman had so many rats she went down north carolina brought
back a big cat named tommy put tommy in the basement next
morning called tommy tommy didn't answer she went to the stairs
found tommy dead half eaten up he go bad with them them rats
took care of tommy
at night feel something crawl on me rat that big
woman on north carolina street died people went in found
her dead fingers eaten off pieces of her skull eaten by
rats would not have found her except people missed her
this heater be glad when summer time come
wind storm come along you might be on the roof all you need
is a good wind

"Chicory"



TERRI — 6 years old
Head Start
Washington, D. C.

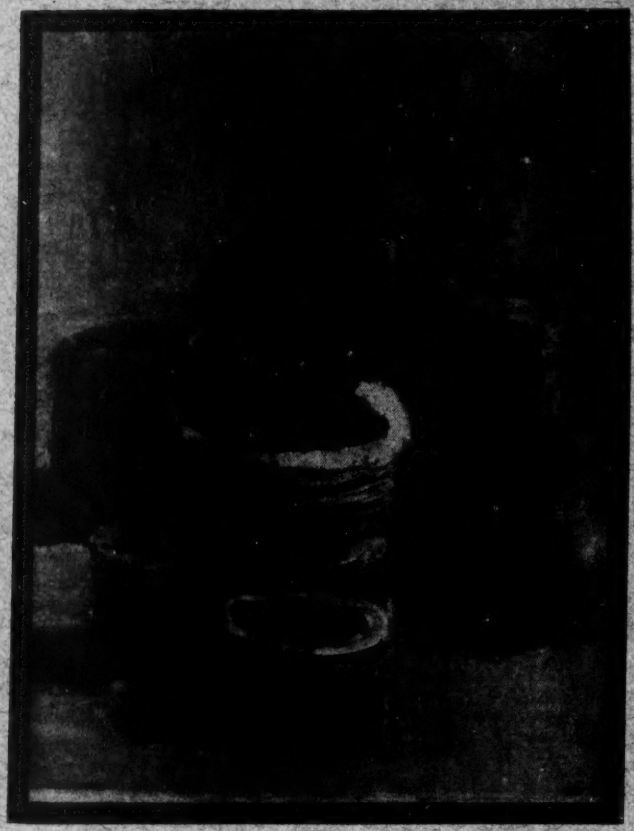
UNA ESPERANZA

Esta pascion que me quema
En el fondo de mi corazon
Grita locamente
Una esperanza.
Esta distancia me rompe
Al no saber esos labios rojos
Ni el calor de tus brazos
Sera esto vivir?
La vida es solamente existir
El ardor de una promesa
Que cuando el tiempo pase
Ahi te encontrare.
Una esperanza, tu ser.
Acapas de todo, ganare.
Hasta luego mi vida
Este pobre ser humano
Lleva grabado en el
Un recuerdo de tu belleza,
Y las risa de tu alegria
Una esperanza es mi vida,
Una esperanza eres tu.

THE HOPE

This passion that burns in me
In the bottom of my heart
Shouts hysterically
The hope.
This distance shreds me
Not to taste those ruby lips
Nor the warmth of your arms.
Is this life?
Life is only existence
Warmth of a promise
That when the time is up
I will meet you there.
The hope, your being.
In spite of all, I will win.
Until that day, my life
This lowest of humans
Carries deep within himself
A portrait of your beauty,
And the laughter of your happiness.
The hope is my life,
The hope is you.

GUADALUPE DeSAAVEDRA
—28 years old
Los Angeles, California



GABE BROOKS—18 years old
Studio 103 - Teen Post
Watts, Los Angeles

A CHILD IN THE READING ROOM

this child has a finger
under his teeth swollen shoe
strings he drags over the floor
a mouth that never runs out of words but what is
he saying—his words are so carefully soft and he
is so busy with our smiles and clean shirts
busy legs the colors of the books we put away he
lives near that vacant place of mud parked cars
and juke boxes but now he is eating bread and
butter leaning against me his eyes alive with
talking
you think he should go to sleep and he is saying
I want to be here
something that is not at home he finds here
Perhaps he knows he might grow old and be like
us

SAM CORNISH
"Chicory"

BLACK PHOENIX

And so, each day
Became a nightmare. . . .
With no place else to run:
Picket fences falling down,
Sidewalks crumbling on the ground,
Hunger crawling all around. . . .
Waiting for tomorrow!
And then, Time. . . . running swiftly,
Stopped to sift through the ashes
With barely visible picks
And such weak hands—
Crying!! Brooding!! Trying, somehow,
To create . . . from dreams archaic. . . .
From old edicts and empty places!

And so, each day
Became a nightmare. . . .
Torture under the sun:
Picket fences falling down,
Sidewalks crumbling on the ground,
Hunger marching all around. . . .
Waiting for tomorrow!
And then, Time . . . walking quietly,
Stooped to lift the burnt ashes
Wondering how it could fix
The broken bands—
Crying! Brooding! Trying, somehow,
To create . . . a thing prosaic. . . .
From kindling sticks and shoeless laces!

And so, each day
Became a nightmare . . . .
But, what is done is done:
Picket fences falling down,
Sidewalks crumbling on the ground,
Hunger running all around. . . .
Waiting for tomorrow!
And now, Time . . . crawling slowly,
Starts to sift through the ashes
Of this black kind of Phoenix
With trembling hands—
Crying!! Brooding!! Trying, somehow,
To create . . . a new mosaic . . .
From broken bricks and charcoal faces!

BLOSSOM POWE—45 years old

Frederick Douglas
Writers Workshop
Watts, Los Angeles

Songs of love are sung by some
They're as pretty as can be
But they're not quite like my hum
When done from the want to be free

I'm like the bee who hums for the honey cone
Not the bird who sings "I'm free"
My soul tells me to hum an' moan
Til justice works for me

Somebody sung not long ago
That a change is goin' t' come
It made me happy jus' t' know
That some day I won't have t' hum

I hope that day will be here soon
Cause later may be too late
Y' know I'm tired of hummin' this tune
I smell freedom an' can hardly wait

Solo from "Ballad Of Watts"

By JIMMY SHERMAN—21 years old

Frederick Douglas
Writers Workshop
Watts, Los Angeles

FALL

Today it is summer.
Tomorrow it is fall,
The leaves change different colors
To delight us all.

The leaves fall off the trees
Looking like flying birds
We sweep yards
Haven't you heard?

VIRGINIA McCULLEY

Grade 4
"Chicory"

Baltimore is a big dead fish
But my mother likes it here

GEORGE FIGS
"Chicory"

TEXAS MIGRANTS PROGRAM

from "Tax-eaters" to Tax-Payers

When the first "norther" and a light freeze brushed the orange groves in Texas's semi-tropical Rio Grande Valley this year, a migrant cropworker named Jesus walked into an office in the town of San Benito.

Pulling out a carefully-folded voucher which showed his summer's earnings, along with withholding taxes in excess of $80, he asked, "How many more of these must I earn before the government is repaid for my education?"

Jesus is one of several hundred Mexican-Americans in Texas who made the difficult transition from "tax eater" to taxpayer in the past two years. Hopefully, he is the forerunner of many thousands more, for "education" has become a magic word to the migrants of the Valley.

That was not true prior to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Generations of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest accepted a fourth-grade education, as they accepted annual incomes of less than $2,000, as part of their lot in life. It was as commonplace as the annual 3,000-mile migration to the sugarbeet fields, as usual as the backbreaking stoop labor from age six on.

The "migrant problem" has bothered Texas economists and humanists since the days of the Republic. Says a Texas Office of Economic Opportunity study: "Many local, state, and federal agencies have grappled with it for years. Private charitable groups have been active in the fight. Despite all these efforts, the migrant and seasonal farm laborer is, as a group, among the poorest in the land.

"Although the resources of many agencies have been focused, to varying degrees, on the problem, the glaring truth is that the results have not been noteworthy . . . The piece-meal, half-hearted, uncoordinated approach which has been used has not produced results commensurate with the money and efforts that have been expended.

"The problem is still with us, and the migrant, who now plays a vital role in US agriculture but whose future, because of mechanization and other technological advances is bleak indeed, is a source of national concern. This fact was recognized and given special attention when the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was enacted."

When the Texas Office of Economic Opportunity was created and placed under the direction of former state Senator Walter Richter, it immediately began formulating what is now known as the Texas Migrant Plan, or Texas Plan. That plan envisions an all-embracing crash program of migrant education—in the three R's, in health and sanitation, in skills and job training.

The Texas Education Agency, administrator of the public school system, was named the delegate agency and TOEO handpicked a staff of Spanish-speaking coordinators to go into the field and set the wheels in motion. Wherever they went, the project sparked the imagination and enthusiasm of the warm, volatile Mexican-Americans of whom 170,000 are migrants and seasonal farmworkers.

Today that enthusiasm continues, even grows, though relatively few have felt the "magic" of education in their own lives. Hundreds of adults have been turned away from the literacy classes, the remedial classes, the classes in homemaking and carpentry and auto mechanics, simply because there is not enough money to provide classrooms and teachers for all who want to learn.

Despite the disappointments, the people of the Valley still talk about "education"; they still go hopefully to apply for each new program, they are stern with children who want to play truant. (In Brownsville, there was a near-teenage rebellion among youngsters whose parents had suddenly become so strict about school attendance and homework.)

The schools of the Valley are beehives during these winter months, many of them operating daily from 8 a.m. to 11 p.m. Teachers groan about no Christmas or New Year's holidays, migrant education directors gripe about no free weekends for deerhunting, but the schools are kept open.

The boys and girls from first grade through high school go to school nine hours daily, from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. They are tested, graded, analyzed, checked, encouraged, promoted as fast as they can make the grade. Their learning abilities are energized by a hot midday meal and snacks during the ebb of the day. They have thorough medical and dental checks on entering school, glasses are provided, immunizations are given.

The accelerated schedule at the schools makes it possible for the teachers and the children to cram the standard 1,052 classroom hours into the six-months period between November and May. No longer are

their educational levels referred to as "migrant years" of education.

There are 20,000 migrant children in these accelerated classrooms in the Valley, but the lamentable fact is that this is only a beginning. The Valley is large, the migrants are Catholics, and their tribe increases every year. For many children, as for their parents, there are simply not enough classrooms, not enough teachers, not enough "education" to go around.

For the parents lucky enough to get into the first adult migrant classes (3,000 last year, 3,500 to date this year), the school day begins at 4 p.m. and lasts until 10:30 p.m. Working six and one-half hours daily, for five to six months, an illiterate can learn to read and write and do simple arithmetic. A fifth grade dropout can advance to a junior high level.

More important is the fact that some of these adults can find jobs, or better jobs, because of their studies. Wives and widows who learn to use telephones and washing machines may find additional family income by working as maids and cooks and babysitters. Husbands who learn to use carpenter's tools, or auto parts, may find work during the lean winter months.

Because of the migrants' eagerness to learn, and because they are adept at working with their hands, another portion of the Texas Migrant Plan is being developed. In San Benito, for example, adult migrant students who are literate spend only three months developing their educational skills, and are then placed in the pre-job training and vocational classes. A representative of the Texas Employment Commission then interviews them, and tries to place them in jobs requiring the new skill, or in an advanced vocational training program.

In McAllen, a Manpower Training Development Program specialist has been knocking on the doors of large Texas industries for months, and his efforts have borne fruit. Ling-Tempco-Vought (LTV), the huge Dallas corporation that produces such diverse products as aircraft and electronics equipment, has agreed to train 750 migrants for work in a sub-assembly plant near Dallas.

Even for the Valley residents who are too old to learn new skills, or for those whose educational shortcomings are too great to be overcome in one six-month's program, the adult education program offers some economic benefits.

Jesus, the migrant whose taxes meant a repayment to him, was one of this group. From illiteracy, he had progressed to about a fifth grade level of achievement; and because he could write and add and subtract, he was able to earn a higher salary as a straw boss rather than a field hand when he journeyed North last summer.

A week-long swing through the Rio Grande Valley reveals that there are as many different "crash education programs" for migrants as there are towns—and the Valley is a densely-populated area, with many small towns clustered together.

In Brownsville, the accelerated classes for school children got underway in two weeks last winter, centered in 17 pink-painted mobile classrooms adjacent to a junior high school off Southmost Road, a low income neighborhood. There were 348 youngsters, including Alfredo, a 9-year-old who was still in second grade. The teacher who had Alfredo discovered the boy had a natural mathematical ability, and began working with him on it. He "took to learning like a duck to water," was transferred to third grade in mid-semester, completed it, and this winter is in fourth grade.

So far this year, Brownsville has 554 accelerated students and is accepting more as they return from the fields, up to the classroom limit of 600. The latecomers will have to go into regular classes. Meanwhile, in the junior high school alone,

there are 300 children who have emigrated from Mexico and who do not qualify for the accelerated program. And there are no adult classes here.

In San Benito, where Jesus wanted to "repay" Uncle Sam, the adult migrant program is in its second year, and will have about 370 students when all the workers get home. Their ages range from 19 to 62. The youngest, a beautiful red-haired girl, is doing fifth grade work. The oldest, a shabby old man with white hair, is learning to write his name, clutching his pencil so hard that it breaks.

The San Benito project director points out a Mrs. Cruz in one of the more advanced classes. She is the mother of nine children; her husband is partially paralyzed with a bad back. In addition to her education stipend of $30 per week plus $2 per child, (maximum $40) she receives a few dollars of income by working 20 hours weekly at a packing shed.

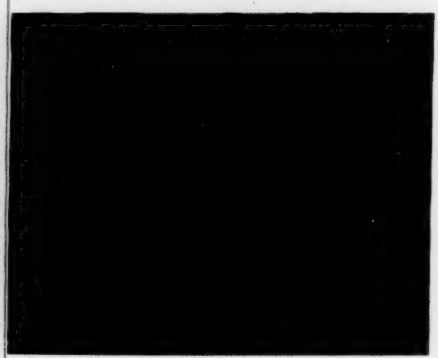
The director adds that last year, 145 parents in the adult classes had 749 children at home.

In Pharr-San Juan-Alamo, a tri-community school district which has the largest migrant population in the Valley, adult classes can contain a maximum of 192 students. The director had accepted 600 applications before he began telling them it was no use. He said he could have accepted 2,000 applications. They were still coming, those who didn't get the word.

In Edinburg, 200 children attend accelerated classes, but a great many more do not. This is a wealthy town with beautiful homes and modernistic public buildings. The school administration is housed in a beautiful old building that used to be a faculty club for the professors at Pan American College. The school superintendent says they

have unique problems, transportation problems, in the migrant education program because the district encompasses 945 square miles. There is no adult program.

Yet Edinburg has one of the most unique education facilities in the Valley—two experimental teaching centers located just off the Pan American campus, equipped with every teaching device that money can buy. First grade children are introduced to English at the same time they are introduced to closed circuit television, language



tapes, cameras, one-way mirrors and picture books. The children, chosen on a quota system, are bussed to the centers from every elementary school in the district. Forty-eight children of average or above-average intelligence, most from poverty-level homes but with some "controls" chosen from middle-class Anglo homes, attend each center.

There is La Grulla in Starr County, an all-migrant village which boards up its doors and windows and waits empty for its residents all summer. Only 127 of its 248 children could get into the accelerated classrooms this year, but the others get special help from two National Teacher Corps teachers, a remedial teacher and a half-day enrichment teacher.

In Laredo, Mrs. Francisco Gonzales, a warm, motherly woman adored by the children, operates the in-school migrant program at Santa Maria Elementary School and in three old barracks of an old fort called Tomas Sanchez.

There are 625 children in grades one through six, and Mrs. Gonzales knows each of them, along with the family history. She has 32 children in each class, but for awhile there were 70 until she found additional space. She has been promised three additional classrooms at Ferrias School, but the ceilings there fell and have to be repaired before they can move in. Right now, she is worried about a possible diphtheria epidemic; one of her children died, and his younger sister, also a student at Tomas Sanchez, is hospitalized with the disease. The city promises mass immunizations at the schools.

The adult program teaches 288 migrants out of the 500-odd who applied this year in Laredo. Last year, three times that many applied, but the word passed fast this year when the class was filled. Bob Muller, the director, said the pro-

gram last year had successful "graduates"—four men were hired by a Dallas construction firm and a man who had been working for a produce firm was hired by an import/export firm as a translator.

The ex-students have much to say about their new education:

"I get a little perfection made in my English and my math. It all helped me think. I am learning how to make a living out of repairing small appliances. We have learned enough to fix and repair any small electric."

"My last wish, not to die before knowing how to read and write English, has been granted."

"I can go and vote for candidates and not be told who to vote for."

"My wife was the only one writing her name on papers. Now she does not have to do it because I can read and write."

"It is the greatest thing that has happened in Texas. It was a great chance to help the migrant. I only wish that it will be possible for all people to take this training."

Last year the Office of Economic Opportunity awarded grants to TOEO totaling $6.6 million for education of 3,000 adult migrants and 20,000 children.

This year the grants total $6.4 million, to serve 20,000 children and 4,200 adults.

The first steps have been taken; the progress can be measured; the migrant population is eager. Now more money is needed—rather than wishes—so it is possible for all people to get this training.

—BETTY L. MACNABB
Public Information Office
Southwest Region, OEO

understaffed?

Charlotte, N. C. agency makes effective use of volunteers

She listens as a child pronounces a new word, watches as a housewife learns to sew a straight seam and applauds when a group of elderly women show her the Christmas tree they decorated.

"She is something unique, because she has no ax to grind," says Joseph Frankford, director, School Social Work Service for the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school system in Charlotte, N.C. "She is there because she cares, nothing more; because she wants to be a good neighbor."

"She" is not one woman, but a whole corps of women in Charlotte who are volunteers in programs designed to help the underprivileged. Some of the volunteers work through church, civic or school organizations; others act as individuals. Most are there because, in the words of Mrs. Hunt Williams, Jr., volunteer tutor at Bethune Elementary School, "the need is there."

The bulk of the volunteer programs are directed towards children. Volunteers conduct kindergartens for pre-schoolers; act as teachers' aides in overcrowded classrooms; tutor children whose reading skills lag several years behind their classmates; operate after-school recreation programs where children have the facilities and guidance to develop their creative skills; and visit families of children with high rates of school absenteeism.

Even so, underprivileged adults, as well as children, are served by volunteers in Charlotte. The Young At Hearts Club, under the guidance of volunteer Joan Snider and the sponsorship of the Charlotte Area Fund, gives elderly people in a public housing project the opportunity to combat the loneliness of old age through a weekly social hour.

With a similar purpose, members of the Jack and Jill Club visit the elderly poor in their homes. The Women's Society of Christian Service, a Methodist Women's Organization, conducts weekly classes for the blind, most of whom are impoverished adults; and Mrs. L. R. Hall teaches sewing skills to low-income women each week.

Providing some coordination of the various volunteer programs, many of which might not otherwise be in contact with each other, is the job of Mrs. Janet Paulk. As coordinator of Volunteer Services for the Charlotte Area Fund, local anti-poverty agency, Mrs. Paulk

keeps track of the existing programs, most of which operate independently of CAF, and recommends projects to groups or individuals who notify her of their desire to give service.

"My job is to know what's already being done, what needs to be done, finding volunteers to do it, and then help the volunteers to effectively help others help themselves," she explains.

Of what use are volunteers in helping the disadvantaged? Joseph Frankford, Director, School Social Work Service for the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school system, answers that, "The most important thing that a volunteer has is her own experience as a human being."

Frankford uses a staff of 30 volunteer women from five area churches and clubs—Myers Park Baptist Church, Christ Episcopal Church, Covenant Presbyterian Church, the Junior League of Charlotte and the Charlotte Junior Women's Club—to visit the homes of children with high rates of school absenteeism.

The volunteers get to know the families and their problems, refer them to service agencies when possible, and—most importantly—try to persuade the parents to send their children to school.

The task is a difficult one, says Mrs. Louise Bilger, a Junior Leaguer and volunteer in Frankford's program. Many of the children who stay out of school are from fatherless families. The mother must work, and, not being able to afford a babysitter, keeps the school-age child home to take care of the younger children.

Often, too, the child lacks adequate clothing or shoes, so stays home to avoid embarrassment. Because the parents usually are undereducated, they fail to see the value of school attendance; and even if they do, says Mrs. Bilger, the demands of day-to-day survival seem more important to them.

"I know how they feel," says Mrs. Bilger. "Sometimes I have the same problems they do. But I can work my problems out—I can always hire a babysitter—but they can't."

Not all the volunteers in Charlotte are adult women who reside in the community. Teen-aged sons and daughters of Jack and Jill Club members tutor academically deficient children after school, and a group of high school boys and girls are planning a Saturday morning

club for children in the Greenville area. Students from Johnson C. Smith University and Queens College also participate in volunteer programs.

A Queens College project at Morgan Elementary School began two years ago, with students acting as study hall supervisors. Last year, the program was enlarged, and transformed into an enrichment project for both grammar school and pre-school children.

In September of 1966, the number of participating Queens students doubled, bringing the total to 48.

Dr. Elizabeth Wright, one of three Queens faculty members supervising the project, says Queens students "are getting more aware of the world than the Queens student formerly was. Many have worked in Head Start and other programs in their own hometowns during the summers. We had an overflow of girls willing to volunteer this year, and are looking for more projects; we'd like to start a one-to-one tutoring program."

An unique project involving volunteers is a teen recreation center located in a low-income area of Charlotte. The center, operated under the direction of the interdenominational Charlotte Urban Ministry, is housed in a church whose congregation all but disappeared when its members moved to other areas of the city. The Rev. Bob Howard, a pastor at Myers Park Baptist Church, a member church and head of the Charlotte Urban Ministry, says that volunteers will be recruited both from the area of the city being served and from member churches in the Urban Ministry to act as counselors and teachers of various activities.

David Spencer, student at Central Piedmont Community College who now is employed as a resident director for the Center, worked late last year on a volunteer basis, informing teens and parents in the area of the Center and its goals. Eventually, says Rev. Howard, the project hopes to encourage "interpersonal contacts between persons in the area and those from other parts of the city."

These are some of the ways the Charlotte War on Poverty is involving people from many different walks of life. Volunteers mean new energy and dedicated to purpose and most practically, they represent voluminous savings to the taxpayers, a consideration every CAA should bear in mind.

—SANDRA MEYER
NORTH CAROLINA FUND

THE $FREEDOM$ BUDGET

Pipe dream or Pragmatism?

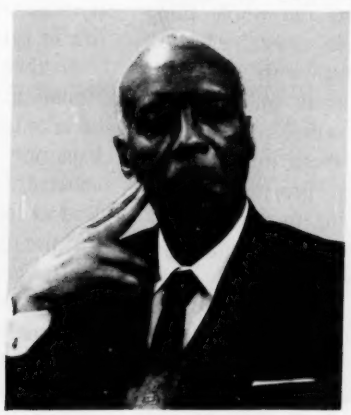
No miracles are going to lift 34 million Americans out of poverty. Money is the prime mover.

It takes money to build good houses, train the unskilled, educate illiterates and build up the health of the under-nourished. It takes even more money to give a meaningful life to the old and crippled.

How much money would do the job? This question has brought different answers from many of our most astute economists and sociologists. Their solutions have been consistent only in calling for spending of such magnitude that many naive arm-chair observers of society have reacted as if the very cushion were to be taken from underneath them.

Perhaps the most clearly delineated proposal to emerge from the private sector—certainly one of the most daring and most endorsed by sophisticated sociologists—is the "Freedom Budget," a document recently published by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, a labor group long active in civil rights.

Considered by some to be a domestic Marshall Plan, the "Budget" calls for $185 billion in Federal funds to be spent through 1975 according to a list of priorities. If this were done, so says the "Budget," by 1976 all Americans would have "freedom from want."



A. Philip Randolph

This call to action, and schedule for action, was developed by noted economists, including Leon Keyserling, president since 1954 of the Conference of Economic Progress and chairman from 1950 to 1953 of the Conference of the Council of Economic Advisers. Mr. Keyserling was a very influential "idea man" behind New Deal legislation on housing, employment, public works, labor relations and social security.

Other economists coordinating their answers within the Budget are Michael Harrington, chairman of the League for Industrial Democracy and author of "The Other America;" Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College in Atlanta, Georgia; Nathaniel Goldfinger, director of the Economic Department of the AFL-CIO, and Woodrow Ginsberg, director of research for the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

These are not the only prominent names associated with this blue print. Issued under the Randolph Institute, the Budget has the recognition and attention of all who respect A. Philip Randolph, the head of

Bayard Rustin

the Institute, honorary chairman of the 1965 White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters under the AFL-CIO.

The document, further, has the endorsement in broad outline of Ralph Bunche, Undersecretary to the U.N.; John Kenneth Galbraith, economics professor at Harvard University; Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Reinhold Niebuhr, director of Christianity in Crisis; Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers of America; Stokley Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; David Riesman, sociology professor at Harvard University; Benjamin Spock, M.D., chairman of the Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director; Mitchell Svirdoff, director of the New York City Department of Human Resources, and Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

What these people are supporting with their reputations is a plan for action by the Federal government, creating:

1) full employment
2) adequate incomes for those who are employed
3) adequate incomes for those who cannot or should not be employed
4) decent housing for all of America's families
5) modern medical care and educational opportunities for everyone at the limits of his abilities and ambitions, at a reasonable cost
6) programs to "overcome other manifestations of neglect in the public sector"—*e.g.*, purify the air and water and develop transportation systems and natural resources in line with the needs of the growing population and economy
7) and making the whole thing last—"unite sustained full employment with sustained full production and high economic growth."

The cost of these intermeshing, all-encompassing programs could be paid, according to their sophisticated proposers, out of the continuing growth of the national economy.

That is, present tax rates will bring in over the next ten years enough money to finance the Budget's programs, if the national growth in output continues at the envisioned five percent per year. This financing is explained in detail, as are the priority needs and programs, in the 84-page "Freedom Budget" booklet published by the Randolph Institute.

A practical outline to make reality—if not Utopia—at least pleasant, the Budget relies upon the federal government as the only instrument with the power, reach and revenue to enact its plans, *e.g.* to enact new laws, including a $2 minimum wage, guaranteed income for those unable to work, farm income parity, more equitable tax and money policies, better health care for the poor, improvement of natural resources, and public works which, according to the Institute's executive director, Bayard Rustin, would be "far beyond what President Franklin D. Roosevelt was able to see."

Mr. Rustin emphasizes, however, that the Budget's public works would benefit all people of the nation by concentrating on improving such things as transportation systems and air purity. It is most certainly not an argument for putting billions of new dollars into old ways—like high-rise, racially and socially segregated housing projects. It is a proposal that will make city life desirable, while making it possible for those who prefer to live in rural areas to prosper also."

Neither Mr. Rustin nor A. Philip Randolph expects the Budget to be adopted intact by Congress; perhaps only a few suggestions will be enacted. But at the least the Budget provides a core for fruitful discussion, a guideline for tackling the problems rather than allowing limp resignation to stop constructive action.

And at the most it can influence citizens and, in turn, law-makers to put the strength of the federal government behind the dynamic proposals of these experts.

In either case, the "Freedom Budget" is good reading for the man in the arm-chair who has been worrying about his cushion.

—PATRICIA SMITH

NEXT ISSUE:

How OIC Trains The Poor For Jobs: An interview with Leon Sullivan

Washington's Forgotten Backyard: The Poverty War In Nation's Capital

Self-Help Housing

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
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